

53 /383 cont. /
 147 commotion/there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more." translated from French/.

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 147 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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to learn about their unusual habits of sleep
and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

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The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/389 cont./

342 of the former dwellings, which was scarcely worth mentioning, since at present the Indians do not take the trouble to dry a few seal skins and stretch them over the framework. Instead they procure /390/ light sacking which lets in rain and snow and hardly keeps off some of the wind (47). Complete laxness and dilatory

47. Lothrop (b) :128 gives a similar judgment: "Thus housed they have had immeasurably poorer protection from the weather than in the days when hunger drove them to secure many seals and consequently many seal-skins were available for housetops" /cited in English/.

indolence have so completely alienated the last survivors of the race from the industry of their fathers that even the most distressing inclemency of the weather no longer stirs them from their state of lazy immobility. A few families have built small, [17] very simple wooden houses, European style, in Puerto Mejillones (48).

48. They obtain the raw materials for these houses through their work as day laborers or as gifts (p. 357 /untranslated/). According to Lothrop (b) :129, "the material for their construction was begged, stolen, or picked up on the beach" /cited in English/.

but they spend only a small part of the year in them. They, too, travel about for weeks in their canoe looking for food, and meanwhile content themselves with a cover of sacking on the co-shaped framework of their flimsy hut.

4. The Community Camp

361 The Yamana do not have permanent settlements in one place. There are a few occasions, however, when many families come together and remain in one place for a longer period of time. If a whale is stranded, people come from a great distance, and the

/490 cont. /

226 line. When the fish has been brought near the surface, she reaches down and grasps it with a sure hand, pushing her second and third finger under each gill cover. After she has lifted it out of the water, she bites through its neck and kills it.

227 /491/ The snares and fishing implements used by our Yamana show extreme appropriateness. Each one of these things proves that it enables the Indian, with a small amount of effort, to get the wild animals he wants or is stalking.

9. Tools

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324 The Fuegians have not yet advanced to a universal or even preponderant use of stone tools. To blame this on the sparse occurrence of quartzite and slate in those regions is not sufficient explanation. When iron and glass were introduced by Europeans, the natives used these materials immediately, albeit in limited measure, without, however, changing the original form of their implements or replacing them by others. Actual working of the stone seems necessary only in the case of stone arrowheads and dagger points (p. 169). It cannot be definitely shown whether these Fuegians also shaped the round black stone with a groove, known as tesli. Hence the greater part of their tools consists of mussel shells, wood, and bone. This fact can be easily ascertained from the accounts of earlier navigators.

[177] The following description pertains to those items as they were made before being influenced by Europeans. We must credit our Fuegians with considerable cultural progress by reason of the fact that they succeeded in making a number of implements of different construction and form, each with a very definite use.

412 We should like to mention briefly here a peculiar form of behavior of the Yamana which Lothrop (b):139 has also referred to.
461 When they need anything for their implements, they do not take the trouble to make a thorough search for a good piece or await an opportunity to come across a better part. Rather, they take the first thing that comes along if it suffices for their momentary need and if it promises to fulfill the purpose for which it was intended. A better shaped mussel shell to be used as a knife, a more regular

/491 cont./

stone as a handle is perhaps lying only a few steps away from the hut, but the Indian is not in the habit of getting up and looking around a bit if he can reach some halfway suitable item from wherever he happens to be sitting. He places little or no value upon a beautiful and durable tool; he is content if it serves him for a time. To a certain extent his negligence and carelessness is explained by the fact that he cannot adequately protect his things nor store them safely. An item is soon lost or becomes useless. Why, therefore, devote special effort to making it?

In this trend of thought we also find the explanation for the fact that our Indians do not exert themselves too eagerly to obtain European iron tools. /492/ If they have one or another tool, they are content and use it as a universal instrument. When iron strips, blades, and nails were still a great rarity for them, that is to say, in the first three centuries after they were discovered by the "Nasau fleet," they assiduously stole these things. As soon as they were reasonably provided with them, their desire for them was, so to speak, completely extinguished.

α. The Scraper

The scraper, ufker, is an item that is used equally often by women and men. Cooper: 217 is right when he writes: "Among skin-using tribes like the Fuegian the scraper naturally takes an important place" /cited in English/ (Fig. 43). Every adult owns at least one of these as his personal property; for him it is more necessary than the pocketknife is for the European.

This object commonly has three parts, the most important being a large mussel shell which takes the place of a true blade. For this the natives choose a particularly strong, large specimen and give it the special designation of galuf (200). Vast quantities of

200. "A large, strong shelled mussel whose shell is used as a chipper," according to BD:245 /cited in English/. This is a large animal of Mytilus edulis, not another species, as Lothrop (b):139 erroneously says. Compare Hyades (q):299.

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it wide open, a narrow wooden hoop is drawn through the top row of coils which are looser here. This hoop is preferably cut from a stem of the pliable, tough Berberis ilicifolia. The entire loose weave is lightly and flexibly suspended from it. /Figure 52 appears here./ A handle made of three braided rush strings is fastened to the wooden hoop. These strings are knotted together at the highest point where they meet.

Since the baskets are not only used a great deal, but also

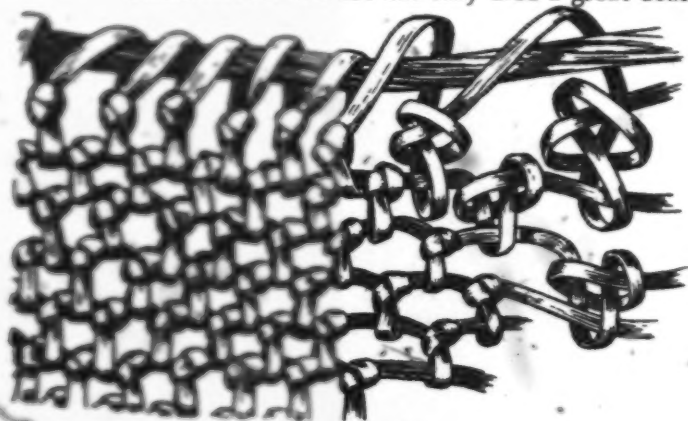


Fig. 52. Rim Section of the Open Basket Weave.

Natural size.

easily damaged, every Indian woman always has several of them.

In her free moments she is constantly busy /Fig. 53 appears here/ with her basketry.

Just as in Europe a housewife who sits down to rest for a bit or chats comfortably with another person will take out her knitting, so the Fuegian woman in a similar situation turns to her basketry. It is hard to judge how many hours she spends on a basket, for she fills many and different intervals of time with this

occupation. Sometimes her already weary hands will move slowly; some women are extraordinarily deft at it. A capable basket-weaver

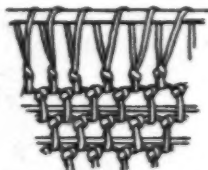


Fig. 53. The Open Basket-work.

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observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes"
/translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (267). Here there are only

267. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard.
Hyades (f):553 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, wasinix. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

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Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman will make a date with another, and immediately others will join them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back, and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Sometimes a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and sheer pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only short /542/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

/542 cont./

226 hands and refresh themselves with a few roasted mussels. After
461 they have filled their baskets, if the harvest is ample, they even
● spread their back-capes on the ground and empty more mussels
on them, with which they afterwards return heavily laden to the
hut.

226 In this type of mussel-gathering, they collect some Patella,
auwēra, known as pīna when they are smaller and as flaku' auwēra
when they are still smaller. They also collect Fissurella, ūngu
(amūngu in the western dialect, ēngu in the southern dialect),
some Pecten, čāpi, and some Chiton, yēkēz or yakā. Patella
and Chiton are often imbedded in deeper spots and preferably
under a broad tangle of kelp. The Indian woman ties up her canoe
on the kelp and plucks these shellfish out singly with her long
mussel fork. Mytilus mussels, of course, constitute the greater
part of her gathering. The Yamana speak of edible mollusks un-
der the generic term of čipāla (268), and, as is well known, they

268. Hyades (r):294 maintained that of the
many shellfish living in those frigid waters
"all the large species are edible" /trans-
lated from French/.

are very abundant there.

Summarizing from this account, we may say that the Indian
woman gathers mussels in three different ways (269): either she

269. Bridges (MM:X, 58; 1876) had already
mentioned the "three ways of gathering
mussels" /cited in English/ of the Yamana,
but his scant reports do not compare with
the detailed description given in these lines.

walks along the flat beach laid bare by ebb tide and with her hand
plucks off mussels and incidentally a few other shellfish; or she
wades through shallow water to the rocks where somewhat larger
mussels cling, which she removes with her short mussel-breaker,
wasinix, and which reward her for poking about in the water; and

/619 cont./

582 for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death.* Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field
461 of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief
halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay.
/620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

221 In its ceaseless crisscross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason,
Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

461 /673/ Our natives are constantly occupied; for them there are never rest periods of weeks and months. Even though the man rests for two or three days after an exhausting hunt, he is never completely idle, nor can he be, for minor demands unavoidably force themselves upon him and bring him to his feet again. It is odd, however, that the Fuegians very often interrupt their activity with short rest periods (65). They never give their concentrated

65. Hyades (Q:220 also observed this: "If the Fuegians love exercise, it is on the condition that it does not continue very long and that it is broken by frequent intervals of rest, whether on the journey or at work" /translated from French/.

attention to one thing for a long time, but provide an extensive diversion for themselves after 20 or 30 minutes. Either they squat down somewhere else and chat with neighbors or, if there is no one around to talk to, they roast a few mussels for themselves. At the very least they poke around absentmindedly in the fire or on the ground. To do any kind of work in a hurry is something unknown to our Indians.

α. Activity of the Man

462 In the management of the household, the man does all the work that requires great physical strength and that can be accomplished only with extra courage, sometimes with audacity. His actual sphere of activity is the free hunt. In this field he develops all his ability and tough endurance, the diversity of his mental powers and the flexibility of his limbs, the keenness of his senses and the utmost dexterity in the handling of weapons. Again and again his thoughts turn to the animals which he must hunt in the various seasons, the ones he has recently killed and those he soon hopes to encounter at the place to which he will have his wife steer the canoe. He is constantly thinking about the habits of the game animals, and he tells his associates in great detail how this one resisted his attack or how that one

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to the unhappy woman, truly a victim condemned to be bound forever in the heavy chains of slavery. The women... while the men devote themselves to repose in the hut, go naked into the sea to collect mollusks" /translated from Spanish/. Both travelers had probably chosen Darwin (d):247 as their teacher; according to his view, "for the woman the man is the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

in many circles.

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Each of the two spouses regards his daily work as his obvious duty, which he performs with tireless patience in the service of his family. Let it be said in praise of these much misunderstood human beings that they devote themselves diligently and intrepidly to their work! Idlers and persons unmindful of their duty are rare and are despised by their neighbors. The majority are diligent and industrious; everyone pursues his occupation indefatigably, although his only outward compensation is the satisfaction of the members of his family and the fulfillment of his own sense of duty. Many an effort in rain and snowstorm is hard and unpleasant, but no one grumbles or complains. Time and again I have seen them exert themselves amid the greatest external vexations, but I never heard a word of discontent, anger, or impatience. Though the hunt was unsuccessful, though they were obliged to battle the waves in heavy rain and hail for hours, though they lost even their most indispensable tools, they did not complain or scold, but quietly and with customary haste built their hut and warmed themselves at their fire, just as happily as on the days of great success. They slept undisturbed and greeted the next morning with hope and joy, no matter whether it presaged sunshine or a snowstorm.

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Thus, it is easy to sum up the /680/ work that is incumbent on our Fuegians. They are constantly busy and, as a result, amply tired; hence they are spared long periods of inactivity. Even on rare occasions when Mother Nature presents them with an abundance of food, they may not sit with their hands in their laps. Sometimes neither the woman nor the man is spared the utmost

/680 cont./

462 expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required
461 period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is
given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type
of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work
of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities
which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into
their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper:169 reviewed the communica-
tions of many travelers on the subject of the
division of labor among the Yamana and con-
cluded from them that "the division seems,
if we take into account Fuegian tribal condi-
tions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable
one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint under-
takings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the
two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of
each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

593 In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the
broad basis of household management, the two partners are so
closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This
alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both
members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and
soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important partici-
pation of the wife in economic management make it seem
plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, com-
plete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is
not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances
of a different nature. Even Bridges (h):210 gives eloquent ex-
pression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband
and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/.
The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves
a man who treats her badly; that is why, without specifically

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846 people have an idea that if the father sits not still for three days after the birth of his infant, it will not survive" /cited in English/. On August 16, 1865, Bridges wrote: "It is considered by them proper that a man whose wife has lately given birth to a child should abstain from throwing stones, either by hand, or by sling, at birds" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII, 273; 1865). If he should do this, his child would become bald, as we learned. A man who has just become a father stays in his hut all day and abstains from the foods that are forbidden. He eats very moderately and abstains from his customary work. Although he does not pretend to be sick, nevertheless he is relieved of his daily duties and squats idly beside the fire. Neighbors and relatives provide food for him and his family since they require little during these days. The man truly acts as though his being away from the hut and the exertion of any kind of work would seriously endanger him and his family. He /712/ does not do anything directly for the newborn child; it is left entirely to the mother. He observes the accepted rules "because from olden times that is the way it must be, and otherwise the child would be unhappy or deformed!" As much as possible, of course, the family also avoids distant and taxing canoe trips, probably also in order to protect the newborn baby as much as possible. The father may use his hands, but not tools and weapons.

846 Since the men enjoy working, they resume their daily occupations soon after the birth of their second and each subsequent child, but just to make sure, they have a yekamu exercise all evil. In the case of the first child every man very closely observes the prescribed rules. An occasional idler takes the birth of a subsequent child as an excuse and considers only himself for an unduly long time, to the disadvantage of his family and the chagrin of the neighborhood. The neighbors, however, do not curtail their help, but continue to give it out of sympathy for the mother, since no one feels any responsibility to support a negligent man taking his ease. Although he pretends and consoles himself with the illusion that he is obeying the strict regulation, his neighbors have a different opinion. Calderon was a horrible example of this so-called obedience to the regulations. He concealed his laziness under the pretense of shielding the baby from harm. He was 28 years old and already had seven children; after the birth of each of them he continued his idle ways for several weeks to such an extent that the other families talked about it very disparagingly.